THOUGHTS

ON THE

AFFAIRS

OF

IRELAND.

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ON THE

[illegible]VALRY'S

OF

[illegible]LAND.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

AFFAIRS

OF

IRELAND:

WITH THE

SPEECHES

OF THE

Lord *Chancellor*, Cardinal *Wolsey*, and *Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*.

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THOUGHTS

ON THE

AFFAIRS of *IRELAND.*

IRELAND is an Iſland inhabited by two Races, the one deſcended from the original Poſſeſſors, who ſpoke a Dialect of the *Celtick* Language, which is continued to this Day under the Name of the *Iriſh* Tongue. The other Inhabitants are derived from People of all Nations, ſent by *England*, from the Time of *Henry* the IId. till now.

It is natural for all People to love Independency and Freedom, and more particularly ſo for Iſlanders, who being ſeparated from others, by the natural bound of the Sea, think themſelves a little World of their own, and hate Foreigners.

As the Nature of the Land gives a Taſte to the Wine * made from Vines tranſplanted into it, ſo *Ireland* has given a Flavour to the Poſterity of all the People, who in the Succeſſion of Time have been planted there. That Flavour hath been a moſt briſk and agreeable one, but a

* Gout de Teroier.

little heady, ſomething like Champaign, which gives great Joy and high Spirits, but in its Conſequences, is now and then attended with the Gout, the Gripes, and the Cholic.

See Appendix, *Page* 18.

Thoſe ſent from *England* under *Strongbo* began to moſſee or froth, and fly even under the ſame King *Henry* the IId. ſo that his Majeſty was obliged to go over to pull out the Corks, and let it die to prevent breaking the Bottles.

In the Time of *Henry* the VIIth. the Champaign began to froth again, they joined *Perkin Warbeck*, and ſome Bottles were broke.

In the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth. *Gerald, Earl of Kildare* bottled up the Champaign, he made a fine Speech, as you may ſee in *Speed* and in the *Appendix*.

But that reſolute Monarch drew the Corks and ſaved the breaking of the Bottles. The Wine was pretty quiet till the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the *Deſmond Fitz-Thomas* and all the other *Fitz's* (that is to ſay the Children or Poſterity of thoſe ſent over by the *Engliſh* in former Ages) joined with the *Mack*'s and the *O*'s, and the *Scots* of the North for DEAR INDEPENDENCY. They uſed the Cloak of Religion to draw in the Mob, and called out to the Pope, whoſe Sovereignty they aſſerted in Spirituals, in order to be independent in Temporals, of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of *England*.

Her Grace, who uſed now and then to ſwear and kick a little, broke a Number of Bottles, and drew the Corks of more. And they hardly frothed again till King *Charles* the Iſt's Time. Then an *Independency* was highly attempted; they pretended even that the King had authoriſed them to throw off the Dependency upon the Parliament and Nation of *England*, and to acknow-

acknowledge him to be their *abſolute Lord*, and to help to make him ſo over the *Engliſh*.

The civil War in *England* being ended, *Crowwell*, an ill-bred rough Fellow, who kept no Meaſures of Decency, went over to *Ireland*, and kicked about, and broke above half the Bottles in the Kingdom. I ſuppoſe he had Jack-Boots on, for I don't find that the Glaſs cut his Shins.

Such a Multitude was deſtroyed in the War, that it was needful to find others to ſupply their Places. The old *Iriſh* were expell'd out of their Eſtates by a War carried on by the Public, at the Expence of the Blood and Money of the People of *England*, who gave to a new Set of Men the Lands of the Conquered, hoping that their Gratitude and their Intereſt, would make them *ſubmiſſive and faithful to* England.

But they, in a ſhort Time, began to take the Taſte and Qualities of Champaign, and King *William* was obliged to go over himſelf; he not only broke Bottles and uncorked the Wine, but he ſent 30 or 40,000 Bottles to *France*, which tho' it ſeemed like ſending Coals to *Newcaſtle*, yet was a wiſe Meaſure, ſince it prevented the flying of Corks, and breaking a Number of Bottles. So much for the Hiſtory. Now to the preſent State.

It is 60 Years that *Ireland* hath been quiet, the Vines planted by King *William*, produc'd an excellent cordial Juice. This Wine was more like Port, than Champaign. But of late we hear that the new Wines have the *Gout de Teroier*, and puff, and fume, and fly.

The Pretences of Religion are now all over. The Papiſts, tho' numerous, are inconſiderable with reſpect to Power and Wealth, yet ought

not to be deſpiſed, ſince they are a Multitude whoſe Circumſtances will make them naturally join the projecting Heads and deſperate Hands of diſappointed Ambition.

The Wiſe, the Rich, and the Parliament of *Ireland*, are at preſent Proteſtants; they owe their Eſtates and their very Being to the People of *England*, who pay'd the Money for conquering *Ireland* for them. I ſay, many of them owe their very Being to the Grants King *William* gave their Anceſtors, and to the People of *England*, who pay to this Day Intereſt for the Money which conquered the Eſtates they now poſſeſs. If their Anceſtors had not had thoſe Eſtates granted to them in *Ireland*, they probably would not have married, becauſe they could not have fed their Offspring, and if ſo, theſe rich gay Men muſt have been unborn.

I am far from imagining that the Proteſtants of *Ireland* ſee the Conſequences of what is now beginning to be done, and therefore am perſuaded that the preſent Ferment will all ſubſide, upon their calmly conſidering, that it is againſt the Intereſt of every *Engliſhman* in *Ireland*, to attempt Independency. When I ſay *Engliſhmen*, I not only mean thoſe born in *England*, but thoſe who were born in *Ireland* from *Engliſh* Anceſtors.

Swift. Dean *Swift* was the firſt, ſince the Revolution, that ſet up the Notion of the *Independency* of *Ireland*, and raiſed a great Deal of ill Blood by artfully perſuading the Multitude, that *Ireland* had a different Intereſt from *England*, and ought to be Independent.

He took the Opportunity of *Wood*'s Halfpennies, and blew up a general Flame, and tho' the Blaze was ſoon over, yet there ſtill remains

Fire

Fire under the Aſhes, that breaks out on every Occaſion. Sometime it breaks out in the Shape of Trade, they attempt to rival the *Engliſh* and the *Scots* in every Produce and Manufacture. They even give Præmiums for improving many Things that interfere with this Country. In Hops, for Example, upon which *Kent*, *Surry*, *Worceſterſhire* and *Nottingham* greatly depend. They attempt alſo the Silk Manufacture, by which ſo many Thouſands are maintained near *Spittlefields*, and in *Darby*, who muſt periſh if they are underworked, and that they muſt be by People who hardly pay any Taxes, while Workers in *England* labour under the Weight of heavy ones, contracted for the Defence of thoſe very People who rival them. But above all, the moſt indiſcreet is, interfering with the Cloathing Trade, and giving Rewards for making fine Woollen Goods, and thereby ſtriving to take away from this Country their ſtaple Commodity, which if accompliſhed, would not only leſſen the Wealth of this Country, but would occaſion the ſtarving of many Hundreds of Thouſands of People. Theſe Things were firſt ſet on by *Swift* and his Patron *Bolingbroke*, with what Views let every *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh* Proteſtant judge.

Cloathing Trade.

Swift *and* Bolingbroke

Sometimes this latent Fire breaks out in Politicks, a Difference about Employments, or about the Choice of a Member for a County or Borough, divides a Houſe of Commons. The diſcontented Party immediately takes up the Claim of *Independency*, which tickles the Ears of the well-meaning Multitude. Thus all the Uproars in *Weſtminſter* for ſeven Years together was ſupported by the charming Word *Independency*. If a *Surveyor-General* is accuſed by ſome, and defended

ſended by others, ſay, that it is for the *Independency* of the Kingdom to turn him out, it would be much better received by the Multitude, than any Argument drawn from Evidence or Reaſon. If any one has a Mind to leſſen the Prerogative of the Crown of *Great-Britain* in *Ireland*, the Multitude will cry out, all good Patriots muſt aſſiſt, for this is for *Independency*.

But to determine impartially this Matter, it would be right to ſtate ſome Queſtions and give the Arguments of both Sides, which I hope I ſhall do, without Prejudice, and wiſh my Capacity was equal to my Impartiality. I have a ſtrong Relation to *Ireland*, as well as *England*, and indeed I think the true Intereſt of both is one and the ſame thing.

1ſt. Is it juſt for the preſent *Iriſh* to deſire, to be independant of *Britain?*

2dly. Would it be advantageous to *Ireland*, to be independent of *Britain?*

3dly. Could *Britain* be a great and flouriſhing Nation, if *Ireland* was an independent Nation?

4thly. Would the great Powers on the Continent, ſuffer *Ireland*, if undefended by *England*, to ſubſiſt as an Independent and Proteſtant Nation?

1ſt. Thoſe whom aintain it is juſt, may ſay, that it is natural for all Men to beind ependent; that Lawgivers who live at a Diſtance cannot know the Situation of a Country, therefore cannot provide proper Laws for the Advantage of it. That it is highly juſt that every private Man, and every Nation ſhould make the beſt Uſe they can of their Induſtry and natural Advantages. That the Laws made in *England*, deprives the *Iriſh* of the Means of

uſing

uſing theſe Advantages, and therefore it is highly juſt for *Ireland*, by all legal and loyal Methods to deſire an Independency. I ſay, all legal and loyal Methods, for attempting ſuch Things by Methods of Force would be high Treaſon. By Independency alſo is meant, that *Ireland* ſhould be independent of the Parliament of *England*, and all Courts of Judicature, as well the Houſe of Lords. And of this Kind of Independency it is, that Sir *William Petty* ſpeaks when he ſays,

" It is abſurd, if the Legiſlative Power be in " *Ireland*, that the final Judgment of Cauſes " between Man and Man ſhould be in *Eng-* " *land*."

Therefore the legal and lawful Independency, and which is that meant in this Diſcourſe, is one to be acquired by the Conſent of his Majeſty, and the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

Thoſe who argue, that it is unjuſt for the *Iriſh* to deſire Independency may ſay, that the natural Rights of Mankind, are juſtly abridged by Laws and Contracts for the common Utility, and thoſe Contracts may with Juſtice be binding for ever. Thus Lands which originally were common to all human Kind, are now private Property. The preſent Poſſeſſors of *Ireland* went over under the Protection of *England*, and contracted to be always ſubject to the Crown of *England* *, and in all the Wars the Natives made againſt them, they have been ſupported by the Crown and the People of *England*. Therefore *Ireland*, before it can with Juſtice be Independent of *England*, ought to repay thoſe many Millions which *England* hath expended for the

* *Vide* Appendix, *Hen.* II.

Conqueſt

Conqueſt of *Ireland*. Therefore it would be as unjuſt for the preſent *Iriſh* to deſire to be independent, without paying the People of *England*, as it would be for a Man to keep an Eſtate which he had purchaſed with borrowed Money, without repaying the Money which he borrowed for the Purchaſe.

2d. Thoſe who ſay it would be advantageous for *Ireland* to be independent of *Britain*, have alledged, that the vaſt Sums that flow from a dependent Province to the Seat of Government, muſt make the dependent Province poor and miſerable, particularly, if it is an Iſland that has not an Opportunity of ſending their Produce to ballance this Demand, as is the Caſe of *Ireland*, whoſe great Officers, Nobility and Gentry, are often obliged to reſide in *London*, the Seat of Government. And the *Iriſh* are deprived even of ſending their Cattle to *England* to ſell, to pay the Rents they owe to their rich Abſentees. Farther, that the Laws of Courſe will be made with a Tendency towards that People whoſe Repreſentatives are the Lawgivers. It is diſadvantageous alſo for *Ireland* to be obliged to have their Cauſes finally judged in the Houſe of Lords, in Admiralty Cauſes, or Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. That it is inconvenient to be debarred from carrying Cloaths and other Woolen Goods to foreign Markets, and ſome other Regulations, impoſed upon them by *Engliſh* Acts of Parliament, or by his Majeſty's Prerogative.

Thoſe who oppoſe the Independency of *Ireland* alledge, That it is advantageous for the whole Empire of *Great Britain*, of which *Ireland* and the Plantations are a Part, finally to have the Laws of the State made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, rather than to have them made by

by the ſubordinate and leſſer Aſſemblies of the Parliament of *Ireland* or the Plantations. That it is very proper and advantageous to *Ireland*, to have an Houſe of Lords and Commons, to lay before his Majeſty proper Laws relating to what is Convenient for that particular Kingdom, and to become Acts of Parliament by his Majeſty's Authority, to be amended by his Majeſty, or to be rejected by the ſame Royal Authority. But the preſent Conſtitution is highly Advantageous to the whole, and the Authority of the King in the Parliamennt of *Great Britain* is much more Majeſtick and Awful, than the Aſſemblies either of the Parliament of *Ireland*, *New England*, *New York*, or any of the Provinces.

It is beneficial for *Ireland* to have their final Reſort hither, that if Party-Prejudice or Bribery ſhould prevail, they may be ſet right by a wiſe, eminent, and impartial Judicature, ſuch as the Houſe of Lords. The Parliament of *England* are certainly a more proper Repreſentative of the People of *Ireland*, in all Matters that relate to the welfare of the whole Empire, and even in great Matters relating to *Ireland* itſelf than their own can be. The Commons of *Great Britain* are as much the virtual Repreſentatives of the People of *Ireland* and *America*, as they are of the People of *England*. Every Man in *Ireland* who has Forty Shillings a Year in any County in *England*, can Vote for any Member to ſit in Parliament, and an *Engliſh* Man worth 100,000 *l.* even living in *England*, cannot Vote if he hath not Lands, or is not a Citizen or Burgeſs of ſome Borough. And the Houſe of Commons of *Great Britain* will be probably as

impartially and as wiſe as the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*.

Firſt of all, becauſe they are choſen by a much greater number of People. The Freeholders and Voters in *Britain* making above 100,000, and Sir *William Petty* ſays, "the Go-"vernment of *Ireland* is compos'd of 21 "Biſhops, temporal Peers augmented at his "Majeſty's Pleaſure, and about 3000 Free-"holders, and the Members of about 100 Cor-"porations, the Univerſity of *Dublin* reck-"on'd for one, repreſented in the Houſe of "Commons by about 270 Knights, Citizens "and Burgeſſes."

2*dly*, Becauſe amongſt *the Britiſh Parliament* are many of the great Men of the Nation, who have been and are converſant in all foreign Affairs. At the Heads of Fleets and Armies, of the Revenue, and of the Law.

3*dly*, Becauſe they have Intereſt in the Benefit of the Whole, not partially bound to the Intereſt of a particular Place. Many of them poſſeſs vaſt Eſtates in *Ireland*, and the Plantations; many of them have lucrative Employments in *Ireland*, and all of them muſt have the Intereſt of *Ireland* at Heart, ſince it is the real Intereſt of *Great Britain*, being a part of the *Britiſh* Empire, and the leſſening a Part leſſens the Whole.

The depending upon the Judicature of *Britain* by an Appeal to the Houſe of Lords, is ſtill a Benefit to *Ireland*; ſince the *Britiſh* Houſe of Lords cannot be affected with thoſe Partialities that are natural to Kindred and other Connexions with People living in the ſame Iſland and Neighbourhood, and the *Engliſh* Law is ſo ſenſible of this Kind of Partiality, that it was

a Maxim for a Judge not to ſit on the Bench in his own County. It is generally known, that many have been created Peers of *Ireland* whom the Crown did not think proper to create Peers of *Great Britain*; and I am inform'd that ſome Peers are of *Engliſh* Families who never had Eſtates nor reſided in *Ireland*.

With reſpect to the *Iriſh* being debarr'd from Exporting Woollen Goods, and other Prohibitions and Impediments, they are only Regulations of Trade, which tho' they may ſeem Hardſhips founded upon a provincial Spirit of Partiality, are really far from being ſo. Theſe Kinds of Regulations are for the univerſal Benefit of the *Britiſh* Empire, and of the general Trade of the Whole.

The Compariſon between the body Politick and Natural, is very trite, yet I hope the repeating it will be excuſed, ſince it gives the cleareſt and ſhorteſt Idea of this Matter. The Legs carry, the Hands feed, and the Belly digeſts, for nouriſhing the Body. Each Province hath its Office and its Trade, the Woollen is peculiar to *England*, the Linen to *Ireland* and *Scotland*, Sugars to the *Weſt India* Iſlands, and Tobacco to *Virginia*. *England* never objected to the Law that prohibits the *Engliſh* to plant Tobacco, it was an *Engliſh* Parliament that paſt that Act in Favour of *Virginia*, the *Engliſh* might as well complain of that Prohibition, as the *Iriſh* of thoſe laid upon them. To follow the raiſing of one Staple Commodity is certainly advantageous for Trade. It is demonſtrable, that one Manufacture carried to its full Height will buy more for the Maintainance of the Manufacturers, than if they were to turn their Hands to raiſe every Thing they buy. For

Example, 100 Workers upon Watches, each employ'd in their ſeparate Branches, ſome upon Wheels, ſome upon Springs, and ſome upon putting the Whole together and finiſhing, would probably make as many Watches, as would produce 4000 *l.* for their Profit. Theſe 100 Men might conſume in Meat, Drink and Cloathing 2000 *l.* But if they were to make their own Shoes, Cloth, Linen, and other Cloathing, to ſow the Corn, and make the Bread, to follow all the Works of Huſbandry towards raiſing their Food, out of a covetous Spirit to get the Profit of the Shopkeeper, Farmer, Baker, *&c.* the 100 Men after they had cloathed and fed themſelves, would not have Time to make as many Watches as the neat Profit would bring in 500 *l.* and would looſe 1500 *l.* by miſapplying there Time. The ſame Inconveniency will happen to every State that attempts to furniſh themſelves with every Thing they want, and buy nothing from their Neighbours. In which Caſe their Neighbours could take nothing from them, ſince they would have nothing with which to pay thoſe who had already furniſhed themſelves with all Things. This would put a total End to Commerce, which is Mankind's mutually ſupplying each others Wants.

From this may be prov'd, that the abſolutely prohibiting the *Iriſh* from Manufacturing even a Lock of Wool, would be greatly to their Advantage. If they turn'd the ſame Hands to the Linen, they certainly would thereby improve the Linen Manufacture. The Perſon that ſpins Wool ſometimes, and follows other Work at other Times, and thereby earns but Three Pence a Day, would, if ſhe ſet herſelf to Flax-Spinning only become a Proficient, and thereby perhaps earn Ten Pence or Twelve Pence a

Day

Day or more. The conſtant Attendance to one Thing makes Perfection, and the Diſſipation to many loſes Time, and makes all imperfect. Great Nations, as well as ſmall Societies, compoſe but certain Numbers which they don't exceed, and therefore admit of being limited by Numeration. If *Ireland* contain'd, as Sir *William Petty* ſays, 1,110,000, and 200,000 ſhould be employ'd in the Linnen Manufacture. If 30,000, which Sir *William* ſays the Woolworkers amounted to, were added to the Linnen Manufacture; this would happen, all the Linnen they made would be exported, for the preſent Manufacturers ſupply the Kingdom.

Suppoſe therefore, as is reckon'd by the *Dutch* one with another, that the Linnen Manufacturers earn Twenty Pound a Year each, that is to ſay, that the whole Linnen made by 30,000 People in *Holland* is Value about 600,000 *l.* It is reckon'd, that the whole of the People employ'd in Wool in *Ireland* do not earn one with another 12 *l.* a Year each, therefore the 30,000 would earn 160,000 *l.* Therefore with this Linnen they would buy from *Englaud* a great deal more Woolen Goods than they could make, and would have a great Ballance beſides.

Therefore the hindering *Ireland* or the Plantations from mannfacturing Wool would be like a kind Father's hindering his Child from eating green Fruit, and giving him a wholeſome Dinner inſtead of it, and ſuch a Kind of Father is the legiſlative Power of *Great Britain.* Whilſt provincial Parliaments or Aſſemblies would, like tender Mothers, rather than hear their Children cry, give them Fruit, or even ſtrong Liquors to the hazard of their Lives, and the Ruin of their Conſtitutions.

As

As for the Inſtance of Partiality in the Act for prohibiting the importing Cattle from *Ireland*, it is far from being an Injury. It hath been a high Advantage to that Kingdom, and like the Act prohibiting the drawing by the Horſes Tails. And it was neceſſary to hinder the *Iriſh* from ſending over their lean Cattle that they might be forc'd to fat them and gain thereby. And the prohibiting the Manufacturing of Wool now, will be as beneficial to them a few Years hence as the prohibiting of bringing over Cattle, is to the preſent *Iriſh*, tho' when paſt, as much diſlik'd as this is now.

All the other Reſtraints may be ſingly conſider'd, and moſt of them upon full Examination would appear beneficial to *Ireland*, and ſhews the ſuperior Wiſdom of an Impartial *Britiſh* Parliament.

From theſe Reaſons it would appear diſadvantageous to *Ireland* to be Independent of the *Britiſh* Parliament, and a ſtronger than all theſe may be offer'd, that the Mobs in the City of *Dublin* are dangerous to the Freedom of Parliament, ſince not only Biſhops and Peers have been inſulted, but tumultuous Multitudes have teſtify'd their Approbation or Diſapprobation of Matters under parliamentary Conſiderations, and clamorous Crowds have ſurrounded the Houſe during the Debates. Is it not fitting? therefore, there ſhould be a ſuperior Legiſlature to prevent Hurt ariſing from any Act which two Houſes of a provincial Parliament, might be forc'd to paſs by a tumultuous Multitude.

The ſtrongeſt Reaſon.

To the 3d Queſtion.

Thoſe who are opinion that *Britain* might continue a flouriſhing Nation, tho' *Ireland* was inde-

independent, may ſay that *Ireland* adds nothing now to the Strength of *Britain*; ſhe pays no Taxes towards the Support of the Realm, nor to the Intereſt of the public Funds, and therefore *Britain* would loſe nothing by her Independency, but would rather obtain an Advantage by a free Trade, with her who would then be in a more flouriſhing Condition.

Thoſe who maintain the Contrary may ſay, that *Ireland* is prov'd by Hiſtory to have been very inconvenient to *England*; when ſhe was a free and independent Country ſhe ſupported the *Scots* and *Welch* againſt the *Saxons* and againſt our firſt Kings of the *Norman* Line, and the Hiſtorians ſay, that unſufferable Wrongs were done by their Piracies upon the *Engliſh* Nation, buying and ſelling their Captives and uſing *Turkiſh* Tyrany on their Bodies. If the *Iriſh* when they were a naked People without Armour, and without Arts, having nothing but their natural Courage and Strength of Body (for which they were always famous) to depend upon, could put *England* under ſuch Difficulties, how much more, is now to be apprehended from them when they are inſtructed in all the ſame Arts, and if *England* excel in ſome, they alſo exceed in others. One of their Gentlemen, upon a late Occaſion, having defended their Privileges with an Eloquence that would have been applauded in *Greece* or *Rome*, and whatever he might fall ſhort of their two greateſt Orators in Language, he over made np in other Qualities, not yielding like *Tully* to fear, nor like *Demoſthenes* to Corruption. With Reſpect to military Virtue, they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves not only in the Service of *Britain*, but *Quæ Regio in Terris Noſtrori non plena Laboris.* How unfortunate

nate is it that the brave Natives of *Ireland* have bled and conquered for the Enemies of *Britain*. Beſides, this if *Ireland* was an independent Nation it would intirely ruin the Trade of *England*, their Ports open to the Weſtern Ocean, have by that natural Conveniency, a Superiority over any in the Channel. If they were permitted they could under-trade *England* to the *Weſt-Indies*, and our Companies, if they were independent, could not prevent them trading to *China*, and the *Eaſt-India* Company would be thereby ruined. They would under-ſell us in Woollen Goods, in Hats, in Silks, in Leather, in Shoes, and in many other Manufactures, whereby Millions of Clothiers, Weavers, Spinners, Silk Weavers, and Winders, Tanners, Shoemakers, and other *Engliſh* Manufacturers, would be ſet a ſtarving, ſo that the Independency of *Ireland* muſt be the undoing of *England*, and end in the Deſtruction of *Ireland* alſo. For tho' at firſt they would under-trade *England*, their Labour and Proviſion being cheaper, becauſe they are not ſo loaded with Taxes and Exciſes, yet to defend their Independency they muſt be at ſuch Expences as muſt occaſion future Taxes and Exciſes, and they be cruſhed under the Weight thereof. The Proportion of *Ireland* with reſpect to Numbers and Wealth, is reckoned but one Sixth to *England*, therefore all their Efforts in the End would be but like the Frog in *Eſop*, that to vie with the Ox ſwelled himſelf till he burſt.

To the 4th Queſtion.

Would the great Powers on the Continent ſuffer *Ireland*, if undefended by *England*, to ſubſiſt as an Independent and Proteſtant Nation?

There

There can be no Reaſon given that they ſhould. The *French* would naturally wiſh to be Maſters of ſo rich an Iſland as *Ireland*, and doubtleſs Religion would give them many Friends there. In ancient Times before they were ſubject to *England*, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* frequently over-run them, and it's natural that they ſhould have many things to fear from the Northern Powers, were they not protected by the Treaties which *England* hath ſubſiſting with all the Powers of *Europe*, as well as by the Fleets and Armies of *Great Britain* and *Hanover*. And it is to be remarked that they have all the Happineſs of this Protection gratis. It is *England* that pays the Taxes which ſupports the Fleets, and all foreign Subſidies, and all the *Engliſh* Armies that act upon the Continent. It is *England* that pays the Negotiations and Miniſters in foreign Courts, as well as the great Officers of the Crown, and his Majeſty's Miniſters, who watch over the Safety of *Ireland* as well as *Great Britain*.

O fortunatos nimium ſua ſi bona norint!

VIRG.

APPENDIX.

Quotations from ancient Hiſtory, containing the Speeches of the Lord Chancellor, Cardinal *Woolſley*, and *Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, in the original old *Engliſh*.

Speed. KING *Henry* II. to prevent the too great Forwardneſs of *Strongbo* and the Conquerors of *Ireland*, forbids by his Proclamations any Veſſels to carry any Thing out of his Dominions into *Ireland*, and commands all *Engliſh* to return before *Eaſter*, and leave off their Attempts, or their Eſtates in *England* ſhould be ſeized for the King. Afterwards *Henry* Lord *Fitz Morris* appeaſed his Diſpleaſure upon theſe Terms, that the *Iriſh* ſhould hold of the King and his Heirs, and ſo to be under his Subjection as Subjects ought to be.

Gerald Cambrid. The King landing in *Ireland* committed to Priſon, *Robert Fitz Stephens*, one of the Conquerors, and reduces them to Submiſſion, but a grave Hiſtorian remarks, that it was the inſeparable evil Fate of that Kingdom, which would never ſuffer it to enjoy the bleſſed Benefit of exact Civility.

Perkin

Perkin ſails into *Ireland* where, notwithſtanding their late Calamitimes, he ſo ſtrongly inchanted that rude People, with the Charms of falſe Hopes and Miſts of Seemings as he was ſure of Partakers in great Plenty. Speed, p. 973.

But in *Ireland* they were not ſo ſettled or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, *Henry Deny* (a Monk of *Langton-Abbey*) was ſent Lord Chancellor thither, with Orders and Directions, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight, with Soldiers, whoſe greateſt Diligence and Cares, were not wanting to puniſh ſuch as heretofore had aided *Perkins*, or might hereafter. Specd, p. 976.

The Earl of *Kildare*, Lord-Deputy, falling into Suſpicion with *Poynings*, was by him apprehended and ſent Priſoner into *England*, where the King did not only graciouſly hear and admit his Defences, but alſo returned him with Honour and Continuation of Authority. Henry 7th.

The Earl of *Kildare*, who now in *England* muſt anſwer his Demeanor before the Lords of the Council. And to their Table was he brought, where the Cardinal Lord Chancellor made his Faults nothing leſs. And thus addreſſed himſelf againſt the Earl of *Kildare*. Speed, p. 1013. Henry 8th. Speed, p. 1013.

'I wot well my Lord, that I am not the meet-
'eſt at this Board to charge you with theſe
'Treaſons, becauſe it pleaſed ſome of your Pew-
'fellows to report that I am a profeſſed Enemy
'to all Nobility, and namely to the *Geraldines*,
'but ſeeing every ſhrewd Boy can ſay as much *The Cardinal's Speech at the Council Table, againſt* Kildare.

'when he is controuled, and theſe Points ſo
'weighty, that they ſhould not be diſſembled
'of us, and ſo apparent, that they cannot be de-
'nied of you. I I muſt have leave notwith-
'ſtanding your ſtale Slander, to be the Mouth
'of theſe Honourable Lords at this preſent, and
'to trump your Treaſons in you Way, howſo-
'ever you take me. Firſt, you remember how
'the lewd Earl of *Deſmond*, your Kinſman, who
'paſſeth not whom he ſerveth, might he change
'his Maſter, ſent his Confederates with Let-
'ters of Credence, unto *Francis*, the *French*
'King, and having but cold Comfort there,
'went to *Charles* the Emperor, profering the
'Help of *Mounſter*, and *Conought*, towards the
'Conqueſt of *Ireland*, if either of them would
'help to win it from our own King; how many
'Letters, what Precepts, what Meſſages. what
'Threats have been ſent you to apprehend him,
'and yet not done? Why ſo? Forſooth, I
'could not catch him. Nay, nay, Earl, for-
'ſooth, you would not watch him; if he be
'juſtly ſuſpected, why are you partial in ſo great
'a Charge? If not, why are you fearful to
'have him tried? Yea, for it will be ſworn, and
'depoſed before your Face that for Fear of
'meeting him, you have winked wilfully,
'ſhunned his Sight, altered your Courſe, warn-
'ed your Friends, ſtopped both Ears and
'Eyes againſt his Detectors, and whenſoever
'you took upon you to hunt him out, then
'was he ſure, beforehand, to be out of your
'Walk; ſurely this juggling and falſe Play, lit-
'tle became an honeſt Man, called to ſuch Ho-
'nour, or a Nobleman put into ſo great Truſt.
'Had you loſt but a Cow or a Horſe of your

'own,

'own, two hundred of your Retainers wou'd 'have come at your Whiſtle to reſcue the prey 'from the uttermoſt Edge of *Ulſter*. All the '*Iriſh* in *Ireland* muſt have given you the 'Way, but in purſuing ſo needful a Matter as 'this was, merciful God, how nice, how dan-'gerous, how wayward have you been? One 'while he is from Home, and another while he 'keepeth Home; ſometimes fled, ſometimes in 'in the Borders where you dare not venture. 'Ywiſſe, my Lord, there be ſhrewd Bugges in 'the Borders for the Earl of *Kildare* to fear. 'The Earl, nay, the King of *Kildare*; for when 'you are diſpoſed, you reign more like than 'rule the Land. Where you are pleaſed the '*Iriſh* Foe ſtandeth for a juſt Subject; Hearts 'and Hands, Lives and Lands, they are all at 'your Courteſy, who falleth not thereon cannot 'reſt within your Smell, and your ſmell ſo 'rank that you treat them out at Pleaſure." Whilſt the Cardinal was ſpeaking, the Earl chafed and changed Colour, and at laſt brake out and interrupted him thus.

'My Lord Chancellor I beſeech you Pardon 'me, I am ſhort witted, and you I perceive 'intend a long Tale; if you proceed in this Or-'der half my Purgation will be loſt for lack of 'Carriage. I have no ſchool Tricks nor Art 'of Memory, except you hear me while I re-'member your Words, your ſecond Proceſs 'will hammer out the former.' The Lords Aſ-ſociate, who for the moſt Part lov'd *Kildare*, and knew the *Cardinal* his manner of Taunts, ſo ready being inured therewith many Years to-gether, humbly beſought his Grace to charge him

Kildare interrupting the Cardinal's Tale.

The Lords tender Kildare.

him directly with Particulars, and to dwell on ſome one Matter until it were examined thoroughly.

He anſwereth the Cardinal's Objection.

'That granted, it is good Reaſon, quoththe 'Earl, that your Grace bear the Mouth of this 'Board. But my Lord, thoſe Mouths that put 'thoſe Things into your Mouth are very wide 'Mouths, ſuch indeed as have gaped long for 'my Wreck. And now at length for want of 'better Stuff have feign'd to fill their Mouths 'with Smoak. What my Couſin *Deſmond* hath 'compaſſed, as I know not, ſo I beſhrew his 'naked Heart for holding out ſo long; if he can 'be taken by mine Agents that preſently wait 'for him, then have my Adverſaries bewray'd 'their Malice, and this Heap of heinous Words 'ſhall reſemble a Scarecrow or a Man of Straw, 'that ſeemeth at a Bluſh to carry ſome proportion, but when it is felt and appeaſed, diſcovereth a Vanity, ſerving only to fear Crows, 'and I verily truſt your Honours ſhall ſee the 'Proof by the Thing itſelf within theſe few 'Days; but go to, ſuppoſe he never be had? 'What is *Kildare* to blame for it, more than 'my good Brother of *Oſſorie*, who notwithſtanding his high Promiſes, having alſo the King's 'Power, is yet content to bring him in at leiſure? Cannot this Earl of *Deſmond* ſhift but I 'muſt be of Council? Cannot he hide him except I wink? If he be cloſe, am I his Mate? 'If he be friended, am I a Traitor? This is a 'doubty Kind of Accuſation which they urge 'againſt me, wherein they are ſtabbed and mired at my firſt Denial; you would not ſee 'him, ſay they, who made them ſo familiar

'with

'with mine Eyeſight? Or when was the Earl
'within my View? Or who ſtood by when I
'let him ſlip? Or where are the Tokens of my
'wilful Hoodwink? But you ſent him Word to
'beware of you, who was the Meſſenger?
'Where are the Letters? Convince my Nega-
'tives; ſee how looſe this idle Gear hangeth to-
'gether, *Deſmond* is not taken. Well you are
'in Fault, why? Becauſe you are; who proveth
'it? No body, what Conjectures? So it ſeem-
'eth, to whom? To your Enemies; who told
'it them? They will ſwear it; what other
'Ground, none; will they ſwear it, my Lord?
'Why then of like they know it, either they
'have mine Hand to ſhew or can bring forth the
'Meſſenger, or were preſent at a Conference,
'or privy to *Deſmond*, or ſome body bewraeyd
'it to them, or they themſelves were my Car-
'riers or Vice-gerents therein, which of theſe
'Parts will they chuſe, for I know them too well
'to reckon my ſelf convict by their bare Words
'or headleſs Sayings, or frantick Oaths, were,
'but mere Mockery; my Letters were ſoon read;
'were any ſuch Writing extant, my Servants
'and Friends are ready to be ſifted; of my Cou-
'ſin of *Deſmond* they may lie loudly, ſince no
'Man here can well contrary them; touching
'my ſelf, I never noted in them much Wit, or
'ſo faſt Faith that I wou'd have gaged on their
'Silence the Life of a good Hound, much
'leſs mine own. I doubt not, may it pleaſe
'your Honour to oppoſe them, how they came
'to the Knowledge of theſe Matters which they
'are ſo ready to depoſe, but you ſhall find their
'Tongues chained to another Man's Trencher,
'and as it were, Knights of the Poſt ſuborned

'to

'to ſay, ſwear and ſtare, the uttermoſt they 'can, as thoſe that paſs not what they ſay, nor 'with what Face they ſay it, ſo they ſay no 'Truth. But on the other ſide it grieveth me, 'that your good Grace, whom I take to be 'wiſe and ſharp, and who of your bleſſed Diſ-'poſition wiſheth me well, ſhou'd be ſo far 'gone in crediting theſe corrupt Informers that 'abuſe the Ignorance of your State and Coun-'try to my Peril; little know you my Lord, 'how neceſſary it is, not only for the Governor, 'but alſo for every Nobleman in *Ireland* to 'hamper the uncivil Neighbours at diſcretion, 'wherein if they waited for Proceſs of Law, 'and had not thoſe Lives and Lands you ſpeak 'of within their reach, they might hap to loſe 'their own Lives and Lands without Law. You 'hear of a Caſe as it were in a Dream, and feel 'not the Smart that vexeth us. In *England* 'there is not a mean Subject that dare extend 'his Hand to *Fillip* a Peer of the Realm; in *In what Caſe ſtand the Noblemen of Ireland with Rebels.* 'Ireland, except the Lord have Cunning to his 'Strength, and Strength to ſave his Crown, and 'ſufficient Authority to take Thieves and Var-'lets when they ſtir, he ſhall find them ſwarm 'ſo faſt, that it will be too late to call for Juſ-'tice. If you will have our Service take effect, 'you muſt not tie us always to thoſe judicial 'Proceedings wherewith your Realm (thanked 'be God) is innured. Touching my Kingdom 'I know not what your Lordſhip ſhould mean 'thereby, if your Grace imagine that a King-'dom conſiſteth in ſerving God, in obeying 'the Prince, in governing with Love the Com-'monwealth, in ſupporting Subjects, in ſup-'preſſing Rebels, in executing Juſtice, in brid-

'ling

'ling blind Affections, I would be willing
'to be inveſted with ſo virtuous and royal
'a Name; but if therefore you term me a
'King, in that you are perſuaded that I repine
'at the Government of my Sovereign, or wink
'at Malefactors, or oppreſs civil Livers, I utter-
'ly diſclaim that odious Term, marvelling
'greatly that one of your Grace's profound
'Wiſdom would ſeem to appropriate ſo ſacred a
'Name to ſo wicked a Thing. But howſoever
'it be, my Lord, I would you and I had chang-
'ed Kingdoms, but for one Month, I would
'truſt together up more Crumbs in that Space,
'than twice the Revenues of my poor Earldom;
'but you are well and warm, and ſo hold you,
'and upbraid not me with ſuch an odious Term.
'I ſlumber in a hard Cabbin, when you ſleep
'in a ſoft Bed of Down. I ſerve under the
'King's Cope of Heaven, when you are ſerved
'under a Canopy. I drink Water out of my
'Skull when you drink Wine out of Golden
'Cups. My Courſer is trained to the Field,
'when your Gennet is taught to amble. When
'you are graced and belorded, and crouched
'and kneeled unto, then find I ſmall Grace
'with our *Iriſh* Borderers, except I cut them off
'by the Knees."

At theſe Girds the Lord Chancellor much fret- Kildare *committed to Priſon.*
ted, and finding *Kildare* to be no Babe, deferred the Hearing of his Cauſe, till more Proofs were produced from *Ireland*. Then in a great Fume he aroſe from the Council Board, and committed the Earl into Cuſtody, againſt the Minds of moſt at the Table, who knew well that this, his Accuſation was more of Hatred born by the Cardinal, than any occaſion given by the late

accuſed Deputy. Whereupon *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, ſtepped to the King, and craved that *Kildare* might be his Priſoner, offering to be bound in Goods and Body, for his forth-coming, whom he obtained, tho' not with any great Liking to the Lord Chancellor, who daily entertained new Plaints againſt him, till at laſt he preſſed him ſore with Letters ſent to *Oneile* and *Oconer*, to encourage their Rebellion againſt *Oſſorie*, the Lord Deputy, which Letters were brought them, by his own Daughter and their Siſters, the Lady *Alice Fitz-Gerald*, Wife to the Baron of *Slane*.

Kildare *accuſed for ſuborning of Traitors.*

This Preſumption being vehement, the King ſuſpicious, the Cardinal eager, and his Friends faint, *Kildare* was ſent to the Tower, where he committed himſelf to God, and expected daily his Death, but with ſuch courageous Reſolution, as he being in Play with the Lieutenant at Slide-Groat, when the Mandate was brought for his Execution, on the next Morning; and ſeeing the Lieutenant ſtart into a ſudden Sadneſs, By Saint *Bride*, Lieutenant, quoth the Earl, there is ſome mad Game in that Scroll, but fall how it will, this Throw is for a Huddle; and when the worſt was told him, now I pray thee, quoth he, do no more but learn aſſuredly from the King's own Mouth, whether his Highneſs be willing thereto or no. The Lieutenant loving his Priſoner well, repaired to the King, and ſhewed him the Cardinal's Warrant, who then controuled the Saucineſs of the Prieſt, (for thoſe were his Terms) and gave the Lieutenant his Signet for a Countermand, whereat the Cardinal ſtormed, but *Kildare* delivered from his imminent Death, and

Kildare *committed to the Tower.*

Kildare's *noble Courage.* Holinshead *Hiſt. of* Ireland.

and not long after from his Impriſonment alſo, was ſent into *Ireland*, where at his Entrance into *Dublin*, he was met with a ſolemn Proceſſion, and ſo brought into the City, ſo well beloved was this Earl abroad and at home.

Kildare received into Dublin, with Proceſſion.

F I N I S.